

AN EXPOSITION
 Of the Principles
 OF THE
 ENGLISH JACOBINS;
 WITH
 STRICTURES
 On the Political Conduct
 OF
 CHARLES J. FOX,
 WILLIAM PITT AND EDMUND BURKE;
 INCLUDING
 REMARKS
 ON THE
 Resignation of George Washington.

BY R. DINMORE, JUNIOR.

"Of these four hundred thousand political citizens, I look upon one fifth, or about eighty thousand to be pure jacobins, utterly incapable of amendment.—They desire a change, and they will have it if they can."

Burke's Regicide Peace.

NORWICH:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY JOHN MARCH;

AND MAY BE HAD OF J. S. JORDAN, NO. 166, FLEET-STREET, LONDON,

1796.

THE UNIVERSITY OF

OF THE DISTRICT OF

THE UNIVERSITY OF

OF THE DISTRICT OF

THE UNIVERSITY OF

OF THE DISTRICT OF

OF THE DISTRICT OF

OF THE DISTRICT OF

OF THE DISTRICT OF

OF THE DISTRICT OF

OF THE DISTRICT OF

OF THE DISTRICT OF

OF THE DISTRICT OF

OF THE DISTRICT OF

OF THE DISTRICT OF

LETTERS, &c.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

* * * * *

* * * * * And now for a word on politics. Ever since the associations were signed and the war began; I have been pestered with my own and my neighbours' fears about French principles and jacobins. We expelled one poor fellow, a surgeon, from our society; and deprived him of his bread; because he would not sign the association and approve the war; (he is since ruined) though not one of us had a word to say against him,* except that he was a jacobin. Since his expulsion I have been half tempted to think he was right; he foretold the distress and ruin which the war would produce; but nobody believed him. The hardness of the times convinces me that he had more discernment, than the asso-

* I beg leave to refer to the Moral and Political Acts of the Kings and Queens of England.

ciators permitted themselves to believe. But I never exactly understood what were the principles of the jacobins. I have been accustomed to place implicit faith in the opinions of two clergymen who reside in this neighbourhood; and they, for a long time, convinced me that the jacobins were a set of horrid, blood-thirsty wretches; who would cut the throat of every man who opposed their vile principles—Mr. Burke says they are men of ability, and amount to eighty thousand in this kingdom. This assertion has encreased my alarm; and I applied to my clerical friends to know what were their intentions and principles; but I could receive no other answer than ‘they are a set of atheistical levellers.’ Now it does appear strange to me, that there should be eighty thousand atheists in this country; or that there should be so many men of reflection, who are levellers of all property. I therefore can no longer rest satisfied with the account I have received, but request the favour of you to give me some insight into the principles of these people. I apply to you, because report says there are very many of them in Norwich; and it is really necessary we should know something about them.

I remain yours, &c.

C. W.

LETTER I.

NORWICH, NOV. 1, 1796.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

* * * * *

* * * * * And so you really are dreadfully alarmed about these jacobins! Well, I will do all I can to calm your fears. I know many of them, and what is more, I honor their hearts and respect their heads; with many of these very men, I boast an intimate acquaintance; and I assure you, several of the first literary characters in this place, are what are called jacobins. In my exposition of their principles, you must recollect that I speak of the principles of the whole party, and that no individual is to be thrust forward as an exception to my positions; you will remember, that in all large numbers, there are some whom the majority would wish to be without. The persons in Norwich who have espoused, what are called, jacobinical principles, are generally men of strong sense and some reading. Though as I said before, not a few have adorned their

minds with science; and added to the literary productions of their country. You will observe, my good friend, that I call these men jacobins, not because they approved the proceedings of that fell monster Robespierre; not that they wish to see a despotism, superior in horrors even to that of its worst kings, rule, with iron hand, again in France; but I call them jacobins because their enemies chose so to call them, with a view to confound the public mind; to render it incapable of distinguishing their merit from the brutal cruelty of the second order of French jacobins. This nickname these persons readily adopted. They cared not by what names they were called, which rendered the malice of their enemies pointless. Having given you this sketch of the Norwich jacobins, it is now time to enter into a history of their opinions; but before I do so, I beg leave to premise that they are not French principles; I do not deny that the French have acted upon them; but they are principles of pure English growth, Locke, Sydney, Marvel, Milton, &c. were their authors, for them Hambden bled in the field, and Sydney on the block; for them, the Anglo-Americans shed their purest blood, and exposed their bravest sons. And as an Englishman, I feel proud that their great enemy Edmund Burke admits there are eighty thousand men yet in

England, thinned as they may have been by emigration, who hold those doctrines. But you may go to bed and sleep soundly, they will not hurt you; their aim is to assist the poor and needy; to lessen the horrors of the dungeon; to uprear the olive branch of peace; and teach men to do to others as they would they should do unto them.

The first grand principle, from which 'all others flow,' is equality; without which, they contend, there can be no liberty; but I must beg the favour of you not to confound this principle with a desire, forcibly to equalize all property. The jacobins entertain no such absurd notions; the equality they contend for, is That every man should possess an equal right to the honors and to the justice of his country; they are of course enemies to all hereditary claims; neither can they understand why, a rich man who can afford to keep three or more houses, should be exempt from paying window-taxes for more than two; when the honest and industrious tradesman, who hardly earns and dearly buys his daily bread, must, from his scanty pittance, pay heavy taxes for every admission of light and air. The jacobins conceive, that if such taxes must be submitted to, they should fall more heavily on the rich than the poor. They are mortal enemies to all entails, which by securing to the eldest son enormous successions, leave the

others destitute, and thus force them on the protection of the minister for the time being; to whom they sell their talents for places in the church, army, or state. They consider that the laws ought to have a tendency to equalize property; because they conceive that immense wealth in the few produces corresponding misery in the many; but this should simply be a tendency; there should be no force used; every man is equally, with them, entitled to the profits of his own industry, and to the disposal of it. But they object to that distribution of wealth which gives enormous salaries to the idle, whilst the industrious and laborious placemen have scarcely sufficient for the necessaries of life*. They contend that the valiant soldier and the hardy seaman are entitled to better pay, and the commanders to less, than they have ever yet received. They oppose all laws which cramp industry. With them every man has a right to get his bread wherever he pleases, and by whatever honest means; consequently, they are hostile to corporations and all chartered rights. They detest the game laws; and hold that the little as well as the great occupier should possess an equal right to the game on his own land, which he has maintained. They are enemies to all copyhold tenures; but they

* Compare the revenue of an exciseman with that of a bishop of Durham, or teller of the exchequer.

would allow the lord of the manor a fair equivalent for claims which he or his ancestors perhaps purchased. They are adverse to the enormous salaries which are paid the public functionaries in England. They conceive the poor are too much oppressed; and that they ought to be relieved. They know the whole expence of the American government, for the year 1794, (extending over a space of country, at least ten times larger than England,) as reported by A. Hamilton, secretary of the treasury to the house of representatives, amounted to no more than £. 79,304 17s. And that in this country a prodigal spendthrift squanders yearly near twice the sum requisite for the maintenance of an orderly government on that happy continent. They assert that, if principles of equality were once established, governments would be less expensive, and wars more rarely engaged in; many local inconveniences would be abolished, and the little tyranny of little minds would be destroyed, and in their stead peace would spread prosperity throughout the land; for if the governors were appointed by the people, and felt equally with them the mischiefs of wars, they would have no temptation to enter into them; there would be no necessity to keep an immense number of citizens in an unproductive state; for they say, if the people are happy, you may trust them with arms, and they will defend, if

necessary, their own happiness. It was the opinion of Adam Smith that 'a nation must be ruined, which maintains one hundredth part of its citizens as soldiers, for any length of time.' Without deciding this point, the jacobins know that whoever is maintained by the state, lives on the labour of others; and they therefore wish to see every soldier converted into an industrious and happy citizen. Such then is the principle of equality, as far as I understand it. It may be summed up in few words; it is the right of every man to the profits of his own industry; to be subject to equal laws; and to have an equal share (either personally or by representation) in the enacting of those laws.

On the subject of religion, the jacobins are agreed to differ; they are of all religions; their question is,—How does a man act? Not, How does he think? I have occasionally met a very curious mixture; viz. an atheist, a jew, many deists, church of England men, Roman catholics, quakers, &c. and yet they all meet as friends, regard each other as honest men, and part with mutual respect. I know but one jacobin who calls himself an atheist; and one who is a jew. The jacobins conceive every sect ought to maintain its own clergy; and that the labour of the catholic should not be put in

requisition for the maintenance of the church of England man; they are consequently enemies to tythe laws; and on this ground I do not wonder your two parsons rail so much against them; particularly as on their plan there would be no fat benefices. The clergy would be maintained handsomely, but the labour of the industrious would not pamper fat bishops, lazy deans, idle prebendaries, or drowsy rectors. On the other hand, we should have no country curates, with large families, starving on less than the hay and corn cost, necessary for the rector's coach horses. They are enemies to the connection between church and state; they contend each ought to stand on its own merits: that if the christian religion be of God, it demands no human aid; neither does it require such immense revenues as are now appropriated to support an useless pomp; christianity is in itself low and humble; and enormous salaries do not promote the cause of religion. This they think is proved by the state of religion in France, during the monarchy; a country where atheism was more prevalent than in any other part of Europe; a country in which the clergy most openly laughed at the dogmas they taught, and the credulity they abused. According to Helvetius, the French clergy were maintained at an expence to the state of £. 25,000 per day, or £. 9,125,000

per annum. We may observe that this calculation was made prior to the year 1777; and if the French clergy partook of the spirit of their English brethren, there is great reason to believe that their income was rather encreased than decreased; when the glorious revolution, at one blow, released the French nation from this burthen some expence; and at the same time, encreased the happiness of the great body of the clergy, by settling upon them such stipends as secured to them all the comforts and conveniences of life. Such then are the religious opinions of the English jacobins: they have been called atheists; they might as well have been called jews. That there are atheists amongst them I do not deny; but I believe very few indeed; much fewer than of any other description. The high priests and rulers understand pretty well the credulity of the English nation; it is only necessary for them to assert, and the nation will believe; but a people who could give credit to the Cock-lane ghost, the bottle conjurer, or Mr. Pitt's insurrection,* may certainly be pardoned and pitied, if they considered the present war just and necessary; the Pitt and Grenville bills constitutional and proper; and the jacobins a set of atheists.

* Under pretence of which the militia were called out, the tower fortified, and the parliament hastily assembled, in the year 1792.

The jacobins have been considered as enemies to all law and order; that is to say, the people, God bless them, have been told so. After what I have said under the head equality, it may appear unnecessary to defend them from this charge; but as you ask for information, I will rather overdo, than leave you ignorant, where I can give you knowledge. The jacobins hold the laws in the most complete veneration; if a bad law be enacted, it is a maxim with them, that all legal and peaceable means are to be employed to get it repealed; and that it is the duty of every man to exert all his powers to that purport. But that cases may occur, in which it is also the duty of every man to risk his life to preserve his country's rights; that prudence is a cold virtue, which, where duty demands resistance, ought to be forgotten.

Gracious God! where would have been the liberty of America, had Washington, Hancock, and those immortal patriots, who bravely fought, and nobly bled, for the best blessings of humanity, —for liberty, had they consulted prudence. Had Washington argued prudentially, he would have reasoned thus: ‘It is true, my country must either
 ‘ resist the oppressive measures of the British mi-
 ‘ nistry, or submit to horrid slavery: how shall
 ‘ I act?’ Duty says, “To thy tent, O! Washing-

“ton.” But prudence says, ‘What is it to thee
 ‘more than another? Thou art comfortable,
 ‘and thy life will pass in comfort; take my ad-
 ‘vice, cultivate thy fields, and enjoy the com-
 ‘forts of thine own fire side. If thou goest to
 ‘war, thy fields may be desolated, Mount Vernon
 ‘may be plundered, a reward may even be
 ‘offered for thy life, and if thou escape the
 ‘battle, thou mayest fall under the poignard of
 ‘the affassin.’ Washington disdained prudence,
 repelled tyranny, secured the happiness of his
 country, and opened an asylum for wretched
 Europeans; where honest industry, untaxed, un-
 tythed; where fair ability, unoppressed, may se-
 cure to themselves the necessaries and comforts
 of life. Thus then, my friend, you see these
 jacobins admit a possible case, in which resistance
 becomes a duty, and when prudence should be
 forgot; but resistance must always be the effect
 of hard necessity; never let it lightly be had
 recourse to; it is a dreadful remedy, and very
 uncertain in its operation: and they consider it
 impossible, that such necessity should ever occur
 in a country where the rights of man are estab-
 lished, where the representative body is elected
 by the whole people, where the represented and
 the representors have one interest. Because in
 that case, they who enact oppressive laws would
 feel their oppression, and consequently wish to

repeal them. The jacobins then contend that their system of universal suffrage is that which will longest and most effectually secure the peace of a country. In my next I will endeavour to explain to you some more of the opinions of these 80,000 incurables, and for the present remain

Your's truly

R. D.



LETTER II.

NORWICH, NOV. 5, 1796.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WITHOUT waiting for a reply to my last, I shall continue my subject. On this ever memorable day; on this anniversary of the acquittal of twelve virtuous men; on the anniversary of that day which saw the ministers of the crown 'baffled and defeated' in their cruel attempts; begrimed and besmeared as they are with blood, they may yet rejoice that trial by jury preserved them from scattering the dismembered limbs of honest men; yes, in their very teeth, English juries, unawed by power, distinguished innocence amidst 'a cloud of ***** 'witnesses,' and honoured themselves by a verdict of not guilty. Thus were preserved the virtuous Hardy, the learned and incorruptible Took, the eloquent and daring Thelwall, &c. But no stern virtue could resist the oppressive despotism of Scotch laws; the enlightened and philosophic Gerald, the mild and benevolent Muir,

with the upright and humble Palmer, are each forced from their families and friends to mix with convicts, the very refuse of the cells of Newgate; far distant from polished society, far distant from all which can render life desirable. But the fate of these virtuous men has exemplified the truth of an observation made by a very accurate writer, that
 ‘with tyrants education, knowledge, activity, social
 ‘intercourse, love of one’s country, and the chief of
 ‘the moral duties are considered in the odious light
 ‘of resisting principles with respect to their tyranny,
 ‘and are therefore to be proscribed and extin-
 ‘guished.’* And I firmly agree with another author, that ‘there is nothing more dreaded by a
 ‘corrupt politician, than that the people should
 ‘think for themselves.’† God knows, pains enough have been taken in England to prevent their thinking for themselves. The jacobins have been accused of seeking the death of the king. They deny the charge. They consider our present gracious sovereign as the best of princes: ‡ they say their plans would not be benefitted by his death; they know no better prince can succeed him; that the senseless glitter of a coronation, and the noisy enthusiasm which would attach itself to a new king, would lead the public mind from a proper sense of the evils resulting

* Calm observer. † Flower, on the French constitution.
 ‡ Junius.

from the present state of representation. They say no people have so much cause to wish for the king's life as themselves; who may lose but cannot gain by having George the Third converted into George the Fourth. They admit the evils which afflict the country. They point out their remedy. They are sorry that the paternal heart of the best of princes should have to reflect on the immense sums which his profligate ministry have expended throughout his reign; a sum equal to 300,000,000 pounds sterling in two unfortunate wars, each against liberty, each against the rights and happiness of a people, and in each of which he has lost more than 100,000 of his subjects. What must the best of princes think, when he reflects on these horrid murders; on the number of his subjects who have been bereaved of their fathers, husbands, brothers, and friends; how the British retired; from the first war baffled, defeated and disgraced, and how little probability of a different termination to the second. What can the best of princes think, when he reflects on the number of minutes which he has governed this country, which if, for the sake of round numbers, we consider at 20,000,000, and the debt incurred only at 300,000,000, the jacobins think the best of princes has been very unfortunate in his choice of ministers; who throughout his long reign have

been constantly plunging this unhappy nation into debt, at the enormous rate of 15£. per minute; and, taking the same average, more than fifteen men have been hourly murdered in battle. Add the thousands reduced from happy competence to starving poverty; and the jacobins think, without wishing any ill to the person of the best of princes, they have a right to demand some alteration of system. And till some alteration does take place, they contend it is impossible for industry alone to maintain a family, and that our poor rates must encrease, and our workhouses and gaols must continue crowded. Indeed, to use the expression of a strong and favourite author, unless some alteration of system does take place, youth must go to the gallows and old age to the workhouse.

The case of the unfortunate debtors demands serious attention; separated from their wives and children, they pass their solitary hours in the dreadful gloom of a prison. Unvisited, unbefriended, the wretched debtor, whose sole crime is poverty, whose only vice misfortune, is condemned to suffer imprisonment, more severe, and longer continued, than they who have violated the laws, and whose vicious habits have merited punishment for the injuries done to so-

ciety. Why should poverty be severely punished? Is it not enough that a wife and a family must feel all its evils? denied the comforts of life, from the rising of the sun to its setting, they must labour; and procure barely necessaries. But you must lock the father of the family up in gaol, and deny him the consolation of his children's prattle. Cruel and barbarous laws! Are there no means to enforce just debts, to distinguish between the honest and fraudulent debtor! The jacobins think they might be devised; they wish to support the poor and wretched; not by encouraging laziness or villainy; but by just laws, which should protect honest indigence from an unrelenting creditor, and unsuspecting worth from a villainous debtor.

By some, Adam Smith has been called the high priest of democracy; if it admits of a priesthood, Beccaria has a claim to its highest honours; he dedicated his labours to the preservation of the lives of men; he proved that even convicts might become useful members of society; and America, ever first in the practice of just principles, free America begins to adopt his maxims. Beccaria taught that punishment is only to prevent the repetition of crimes; not an act of vengeance against the criminal.

That laws should be plain and simple, that it ought to be impossible for any member of society not to know when he is innocent, and when he is guilty.—That punishment should immediately and certainly follow crimes; that imprisonment before conviction should be as gentle as possible. What innocent man ought to be immured in such a hellish charnel house as poor Thelwall was confined in? Blush, my friend, for sanguinary Britain, when you consider the number of her sons whom she annually consigns to the gallows. Whence arise those crimes which her bloody code condemns? The jacobins say, from poverty; they contend that man has no disposition to rob or murder his brother man; but the enormous weight of taxes, all which however laid, and under whatever specious pretences they may be applied, all press on the poor man; all encrease the number of the poor, who cannot combine like the rich; and in order to live, must compete against each other. Thus year after year, even budget after budget, we find the wretchedness of poverty encrease; and cannot wonder that ardent minds seize immoral means of extrication. Hence robberies and murders. And do the laws of England pretend to prevent either? Examine the returns of the Old Bailey, and the country circuits. If they have not that effect, the jacobins insist upon the trial

of other measures. They say, amend the situation of the poor; open national schools; not to teach boys senseless dogmas, and to bow to every spruce coat they meet; but where they may learn useful knowledge, sound morality, and rational principles of government. These are their preventative means: but should they not prove wholly successful; should criminals still continue to defy the laws, they would punish none with death. Murder is not less a murder because the laws permit it. They would apportion punishment to crime. And in order to prevent others from being guilty of like offences, punishment should be public and of long continuance; in certain cases perhaps for life; which they think would more strongly deter from vice; than monthly exhibitions at the gallows; where it is notorious that picking pockets, and other peddling depredations are constantly committed. Indeed it has been justly remarked that a hanging day in England, is a sort of holliday, when the common people go to see a sight, as it is called; and return from it perfectly unconcerned. But it cannot be denied that each man must have lost somewhat of his humanity; and whoever has made it a sight of indifference, in my opinion, is fit for any crime, and prepared for any exit. Of all the punishments by which wealth has disgraced poverty, there is not one more ab-

horrent than whipping. To conceive a human being tied to a cart's tail and flogged is something so exceedingly shocking. But instead of enlarging upon it, I will tell you a story.—We all know that in the last war, the British ministry employed the American savages to tomahawk and scalp such of the defenders of liberty as fell in their way. One of these savages, upon entering a fort in Canada, saw a man tied up and ready to be flogged; as he knew him to be a brave and good soldier, he enquired what the warrior had done, to merit so ignominious a punishment. He was told he had been drunk the preceding day. The savage swore he also sometimes got drunk, and the warrior should not be flogged; and very earnestly petitioned the commanding officer to that purpose, who rejected his intercession. The next day he laid in ambush for the officer; and as soon as he came near him, he gave him his choice of a brace of pistols, and desired him to fight him fairly, as he wished to take no advantage of him. This being refused, and the officer being about to ride off, he struck his tomahawk into the horse's head, and then offered again to fight him. But as he could not prevail; 'Go' said the savage, 'I knew you must be an old woman, or you would not have punished a warrior, for what you and myself have both committed, without censure.' The

next day he carried the horse's head to the fort and related the whole affair. I mention this anecdote to prove how much the human mind, when left to itself, abhors this species of punishment. And this the jacobins would abolish; equal friends to all men, they conceive such punishments are disgraceful to any nation which tolerates them. In my next I shall conclude my subject.

I remain yours truly,

R. D.



LETTER III.

NOV. 10, 1796.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE three great men who now more particularly attract public curiosity, are Fox, Pitt, and Burke; and in endeavouring to give you the opinions which the jacobins entertain of each, I feel very diffident; for it is exceedingly difficult to do so, as the jacobins are not properly a party; each man thinks for himself, and is very little anxious about the opinions of others. All I can do is to speak of each as I believe the majority thinks.—The jacobins were avowedly inimical to the war, at its commencement. They admired the comprehensive abilities which Fox displayed in his letter to his constituents; they saw the greatness of that man's mind, who undauntedly braved a nation's prejudices; and pointed out the ill consequences of his opponent's plans. They applauded the steadiness of his principles, who deserted by his former friends, yet bravely defended a nation's rights against a

nation's self. And they could almost pardon the attachment he has always shown to hereditary distinctions; but they can neither approve nor pardon his assenting to the supplies. They say he acknowledged the war was unjust, yet would not refuse his consent to the taxes necessary to carry it on. He defended the glorious principle that the people have a right to choose their own governors and forms of government; but did not move in his place that the French republic, one and indivisible, should be acknowledged by the commons of Great Britain; they observe with a jealous eye, the caution with which he has ever delivered his opinion on parliamentary reform. In short they compare his conduct with Lord Stanhope's; and exclaim 'All is not gold that glitters.'

The jacobins conceive Mr. Pitt has seldom shown much comprehensiveness of mind. That he is rather a tricking than a great minister. With him place seems the first object; the means of keeping it, the second. They think he has been guilty of enormous dissimulation; and they instance his first friendship for reform, his speeches on the slave trade, and that which he made last winter on the state of the poor. When a friend of mine read that speech in the papers, he said, 'This is an excellent speech;' but nothing

will be done for the poor; and the tools of the minister will adduce this as a proof of his philanthropy. He never does any thing at once. He sounds the public mind at a distance. When he wanted to plunge the nation into this mad war, he considered that taxes and other evils, might soon mitigate the public mania; and he therefore set his panders to procure associations. Thus cunningly seeing that he could always guard himself by asserting it was the people's will. Besides, he thus made every associator at once a defender of his measures; and now very few have honesty enough to say they were deceived. Weakness and folly induced men to support the minister in those haughty measures which brought on the war; and pride and obstinacy prevent their taking such steps as would insure peace. Each associator is unwilling to say, 'I meant well but was deceived. I now see that nothing but peace and reform can save the country; and I will use my endeavors to procure them.' Of Edmund Burke, who is almost an avowed aristocratic republican; who could hurl kings from their thrones; and now only supports monarchy because monarchy supports nobles: of this man who founded the war whoop against France, and again strives to stimulate the bloody career; with his principles the jacobins do not invariably differ. They agree with him that the present embassy is

disgraceful to the ministry, and that if the war was just at first, it is so now. That not a single point has been gained by it. That the principles which produced the revolution are yet the principles of the French government; not so triumphant, they admit, as during the constitution of 1793; but sufficiently general to ensure their second triumph in France, when peace shall be restored. They differ only with Mr. Burke in this; that he conceives jacobinism will necessarily supercede the British constitution as soon as the two nations are at peace: they, that the connection which must take place between the two countries, will convince all men which government will afford the greatest quantity of happiness; and that which does will be adopted in both. If king, lords and commons are really the *ne plus ultra* of human wisdom, then kings will reign again in France. If liberty and equality, then Mr. Burke judges justly, that what the wide Atlantic could not stop, the narrow channel will not prevent. But the jacobins do not assert that the English constitution cannot stand in competition with a neighbouring republic. If they did, it would appear as if they thought the English constitution was not the best possible one: they rest satisfied that the best will prevail; and leave that best to be determined by the fears of the right honourable E. Burke.

The jacobins acknowledge kingship, but abominate monarchy. By king, they mean a chief magistrate who rules by law. By monarch, one who is above the law, and rules by his own absolute authority. And this abhorrence is by no means modern. When the kings of England assumed monarchic power, few of them continued long on their thrones. John hired bravos and foreign troops to intimidate his barons, whom he drove into insurrection, by exacting large sums on trifling pretexts, and plundering the estates of his subjects; by debauching their wives and daughters, and cruelly murdering many of the nobility! Fortunately for him, he died during the contest; and his enraged subjects permitted his son to succeed him, who also died in possession of the crown, though his perjuries, his extravagance and his oppression had produced their natural effect, rebellion; and, for a time, drove him from his throne, and enclosed him in a prison. The third prince who suffered by his attempts at monarchy, was Edward the Second; his cowardice, cruelty, and unnatural passions, produced his deposition and dreadful death. The next king whose illegal conduct weaned the affection of his people, and in pursuit of arbitrary power lost his life, was Richard the Second. Henry the Sixth was rather the victim of party, than the just indignation of his people. His na-

tural imbecility rendered him more the tool of his queen, than the despot of his subjects. To the disgrace of England, Henry the Eighth died in his bed; and Mary's cruelties escaped unpunished. The monarchic disposition of James the First was also submitted to, but only to bring disgrace and ruin on the illegal conduct of his son Charles the First, who was executed as a traitor to the rights and liberties of the English nation. Yet all these examples did not prevent the stubborn folly of James the Second,* whose expulsion was the means of settling the present family on the throne, and proving that the English nation will never long yield obedience to monarchs, though they may be greatly attached to kingship.

The jacobins are accused of not wishing well to their country; this is partly true, and partly untrue. The jacobins always look to the principle; if that be good, they wish it success, let the people who adopt it be of whatsoever nation. Justice may be considered as their motto; and if their own country unjustly rushes into a mad, murderous war, they will not strain a point to assist its prosecution. With them every principle is either right or wrong; and is pur-

* See Moral and Political Acts of the Kings and Queens of England.

fued accordingly. They have no attachment to any particular spot of earth; they hold that they are to do all the good they can; that every man is alike a man; and they detest and abjure that state trick which has made one nation the natural enemy of another.

With such opinions, they must be most decided enemies to the slave trade; not such enemies as Mr. Wilberforce or Mr. Pitt; not satisfied with making yearly speeches against that most villainous traffic; but heartily, honestly and truly they do, and at all times will, use their best efforts to destroy a commerce, so detestable in principle, so damnable in practice.

‘ May the freed negroes, in their native groves,
Reap their own fruits, and woo their fable loves. ’

POPE.

Hostile as the jacobins are to the principle of the present war, it must be admitted they are very little anxious about an immediate peace. They believe the war has ruined the country; and whether it be continued, or an immediate peace takes place, the ultimate effects will be the same. They think peace might for a little time put off the evil day; but nothing can prevent it. In the one case it will be death by

the guillotine; in the other by slow corroding cancer.

The jacobins agree with ADAM SMITH, 'that taxes, when they have grown up to 'a certain height, are a curse equal to the 'barrenness of the earth, and inclemency of 'the heavens,' though it cannot be denied, that many of the taxes which the present liberticidal war has produced, were highly popular on their first introduction, and were called 'good 'taxes.' For it was said they were taxes on luxury, and did not affect the poor, as people were not forced to pay them without they liked it. Of this kind were the taxes on wine, spirits, wearing hair-powder, dogs, &c. The jacobins contend against the possibility of good taxes. They say every tax takes money in the end, from the producing class of the people; consequently encreases both the number and misery of the poor. As an example, let us take the wine duty.

Before the war, the price of a pipe of port wine in this city varied from about thirty-six to forty-four pounds; at present it is from sixty-four to seventy, according to the vintage. The importer pays the duty for his wine before it enters his cellar, and the tax is the great object; for

the prime cost of a pipe of wine is not more than eighteen or twenty pounds at Oporto, which is drawn for at nine months after the date of the purchase. The very heavy duty on wine encreases the capital wanted to carry on the trade, and of course lessens the numbers of those who are capable of conducting it. Lessening the number of traders, encreases the spirit of monopoly; the article advances in price, not only from the tax, and the decreased number of dealers, but from the capital employed being larger. Encreased price lessens consumption; and many must now refrain from a glass of wine, whose health and comfort may require it. The persons whose capitals are unequal to the carrying on of the wine trade, are obliged to employ them in some other. Encreasing the number in these particular trades, lessen their profits; and again force persons with smallest capitals into other employments. So it goes on till we come to that description of persons who, no longer able to maintain themselves, find shelter in parochial relief. Again: people either live on the profits of capital, or industry. Wine, by artificial means, is advanced more than three times its natural price. The landlord and the tradesman are each obliged to consume wine: but the price is advanced. The habits of the landlord are fixed; and neither pride nor inclination

permit him to live without it. But if he drinks the same quantity of wine now as he did before the war, he will live beyond his income; his resource is to encrease his rental; and the farmer to live, must encrease the price of the produce of land. The tradesman also finds a necessary of life encreased in value; and in order to procure it, encreases the profits on the articles in which he deals. His customers may not be wine drinkers, but they find their necessaries encreased in price; and to live in their usual manner must encrease the price of their goods. Could this system go through every description of men, it would not produce much injury; but some tradesmen cannot encrease their profits; and they must either give up wine, work harder, or become poorer. The man who lives on the interest of a certain sum, will be in the same state. And the dearer the necessaries of life become, so many more will be scarce able to procure them. And many who, by careful labour in little trades, could just maintain themselves and families, are forced to daily labour for support. By encreasing the number of day labourers you encourage competition; and of course lessen the price of their labour, and add to the general wretchedness of the poor. If such be the effect of what are called good taxes, what must be those which tax light, leather, fu-

gar, malt, soap, candles; some authors have sapiently contended, that the national debt is a national benefit; and one very learned Oxonian doctor is almost angry with the 'heaven-born minister,' for the monstrous strides he made towards its reduction. I think the worthy gentleman's fears are now happily subsided, or fast subsiding; as there seems no immediate prospect of its speedy reduction. I will just tell you how the jacobins reason. They say, the national debt must be either good or bad. Now it is the nature of good seed to produce good fruit, and evil, bad. If the national debt be good, then its encrease must be marked by national prosperity.* If it is an evil, than its encrease will produce general calamity; till at last its enormous magnitude will destroy itself, and ruin, devastation, and chaos will succeed. If they are right, every war will be more expensive than the last; and though it may not take place in the exact ratio which Thomas Paine has laid down, yet sooner or later, the immense quantity of paper must reduce the value of paper. And the instant that a separation takes place

* By national prosperity, is not meant the encreasing splendor of the rich and powerful; but the real comfort and happiness of the great body of the people.

between the value of gold and paper, it is all over with the English system of finance.

Since writing the above, I am informed that General Washington has declared his intention of resigning the Presidentship of the American States. An event so long wished for by the jacobins must not pass unnoticed. They honoured this great man with all their hearts and with all their souls; but they dreaded the effects of long-continued power. Their enemies have also prognosticated, that upon his death or resignation, America would fall into general confusion. The jacobins on the contrary assert, the election of his successor will produce as little bustle as that of a Lord Mayor of London. They say, the pure elective principle guards against violence and discord.

“ 'Tis reason's self,
The kin of deity; Heaven's choice prerogative;
True bond of law, and social soul of property.

GUSTAVUS VASA.

Here then the jacobins and their adversaries are at issue. They expect reason is to do every thing; and should a successor be appointed to the president's chair of America with as little

bustle as our banished Priestley succeeded the mechanic Rittenhouse, they expect many converts to their system. I sincerely hope their expectations will be realized; and that the successor of George Washington may possess equal capacity and equal virtue with that great good man.

The jacobins are accused of calling each other citizen; this is certainly true, and it has become so general, that I almost fear the unfortunate word, *mister*, will be expelled their vocabularies. I believe it took its rise in England from this circumstance;—one of the charges against the Scotch patriots, was the use of this word. Now the English jacobins did not exactly understand what crime there was in using it; believing that Muir, Palmer, Skirving, &c. were some of the most virtuous men breathing. They determined to try the experiment in England, actually ventured to call each other citizen, and as I have never yet heard that Sir John Scott and Mr. Mitford have thought proper to introduce a charge even of sedition against any for using this mode of address, I suppose it is just and proper for a man to be a citizen on this side the Tweed, but that it is disloyal and seditious on the other. The jacobins have another

reason for this designation; they say, there may be times when

“ That thing, call'd virtue, is the bane of government,
A libel on the state that asks suppression :
It has a hateful and unbending quality ;
It serves no end. Still resistive to the rein,
And to the spur unsteady ; they who boot it,
Ministers may call traitors. ”

GUSTAVUS VASA.

In such times, it is every man's duty to consider his situation as a member of society, and as a citizen; and he also ought to endeavour to make others reflect on their duties. This they conceive may be performed in a certain degree, by the use of such names as shall recall the situation of a man's country to his mind; thus, when a man hears himself called citizen, it instantly occurs to him, Am I a citizen or am I not? The freeman feels the proud boast. The slave, depressed and dispirited, exclaims, ‘ my country has denied my rights: ’

“ I am a commoner, a vile thing in nature;
A poor priceless peasant, a slave that knows no property.

GUSTAVUS VASA.

For how can I know property, who am not represented. I am taxed, but my consent is never asked. But as my tyrants are become ashamed of insulting me any longer with the nonsense of virtual representation, I live in hopes. I will bear my situation as long as I can. Per-

haps honest and good men may soon arise who will pity my situation, and restore me to my natural rights; if not, I must leave the kingdom. It must be admitted, that on the subject of emigration, the jacobins are not agreed. Some think the worse the situation of a country becomes, the more it is the duty of an honest man to stay in it, in order that he may give his assistance to the oppressed or share their fate. Horne Took says, 'they are good men who leave, but they are better who stay in England.' Others think they have spent their best days in the struggle, and that they have brought down upon themselves the resentment of all those who gain by the miseries of their fellow men, of wicked ministers and their panders. They find their property wasting and distress encreasing around them. They see no prospect in England but that of ruin or discord. They wish to pass their lives with their families, loving and beloved: and they look to the happy shores of America for equal rights and lasting peace. The immense distance certainly has prevented the emigration of thousands who will fly to France the moment opportunity offers. I must own I prefer America to France; the language is similar to our own, and the prospect of peace more certain. Indeed, I am not sure that the internal

peace of France will be completely secure for some years. Surrounded as she is by continental despots, we may rest assured, every means will be taken to disturb her quiet, in order that their subjects may not see, acknowledge, or practise representative government. Sooner or later it must be universal. But the princes and priests are too much interested at present, to let it take its own course, and quietly and peaceably to bless the earth.

I propose to quit England in the course of the next summer; if, as we sometimes talk, we do it in a large party, it will be most pleasant; if not, I hope the shores which have given hospitable reception to such expatriated worthies as Priestley, Cooper, Merry, &c. will be equally kind to so obscure an individual as myself.

To place in another, and perhaps a stronger light, the opinions of the jacobins, I subjoin a few democratic aphorisms; and conclude with an earnest request, Be no longer deluded by prejudice. If you know any reputed jacobins, examine their actions. Are they good husbands, good fathers and good friends? If they are, judge charitably of them; and if with Mr. Burke, you also find industry and intellect, however you may

differ in principle, give them credit, at least for being well-intentioned men.

I remain yours, &c.

R. D.

Democratic Aphorisms.

1. Man requires no mortal mediator between himself and God.
2. It is the duty of every man to promote the happiness of all.
3. War is the greatest evil that can inflict humanity: it is the duty as well as interest of every man to strive to prevent it.

* These wars, where man must wound himself in man,
Have something shocking in them, trust, my friend,
I would not shed a single wretch's blood,
For the world's empire.'

GUSTAVUS VASA.

4. If kings love war, let their subjects love peace. War is a game, which were their subjects wise, kings would not play at.

COWPER.

5. Of all luxuries (as every thing which is not necessary to life may be called) war is the dearest.

PRIESTLEY.

6. Let not civil discords in a foreign kingdom, encourage thee to make invasion; those whom civil commotions set at variance, foreign hostility reconciles.

ENCHIRIDION.

7. It is the business of every man to be a soldier; but it ought to be the trade of none.

MACKINTOSH.

8. A good government equally respects the rights of all its citizens, and demands the ready assistance of all in its defence.

9. Society is the detachment of a certain number of individuals, from the great mass of mankind, who enact laws to regulate their own interests.

10. Regulations by such laws is called Government.

11. Every law which is contrary to nature and reason, ought not to be obeyed.

12. Government ought to be conducted at as little expence as possible. No man ought to receive more wages from society, than what are adequate to the service he does it. (When his grace the duke of Richmond was out of place and a patriot, that is during the American war, he said, turning to the bench of bishops, if the people wanted money, they knew where to look for it. His grace, in consequence of his descent from a prostitute of Charles II. now enjoys 30,000l. a year!!!) Can we wonder that the people are poor and miserable!

13. That government is despotic, in which a minority makes those laws, which are to bind a majority.

14. That government is free, in which every individual is, or may be consulted in person, or by deputy, before a law be enacted.

15. In a free government the majority make the laws which are to bind the minority.

16. Is a man bound to submit to laws, when they are the will of a minority only? It may be dangerous to refuse.

17 In large societies, spread over extensive tracts of land, every man cannot personally attend the legislative duty.

18 Every inhabitant of such countries (except the insane, idiots and infants) should be represented: whoever is not, is a slave.

19 The highest earthly felicity that a people can ask, or God can give, is an *equal* and well *ordered common-wealth*.

HARRINGTON.

20 A common-wealth, or democracy, to be perfect, must consist *especially* of such an assembly, the result whereof *can go upon no interest* whatsoever, but that only which is the common interest of the whole people.

HARRINGTON.

21 Elections ought to be frequent, otherwise the elector may not represent the society, whose servant he is. [SEE BILL OF RIGHTS.]

22 If a representative acts in opposition to the will of his constituents, he should be displaced.

23 A representative being the servant of the people, should be paid by his masters, according to the value of his time.

24 Society being benefited by the knowledge of every citizen, it is its interest to disseminate at its own expence such education as will give all an equal chance of acquiring it.

25 For genius is not denied to the poor: it is not monopolized by the rich.

26 That state is ill governed, in which the poor and miserable out-number the rich and happy.

27 Arbitrary governors take the greatest care to prevent the people from publishing their thoughts on matter of government, and *sometimes forbid their meeting together.* PRIESTLEY.

28 The English say, repeats Helvetius, every government that forbids to think and to write on the objects of administration, is without dispute a government, of which no good can be said. Please to observe this was written a long time ago.

26 Every man should be left free to employ himself as he pleases, provided he does not injure society.

30 The inestimable value of liberty can only be conceived by minds that are free: slaves are forced to be content, even in their bondage.

ZIMMERMAN.

31 Seditious and rebellious are the injurious titles the powerful oppressor gives to the impotent oppressed.

32 Every citizen is alike eligible to the offices of a state well governed.

33 All exclusive privileges are unjust.

34 Anarchy is a short-lived evil : despotism is all but immortal.

GODWIN.

35 Society has no right to punish opinions.

36 Punishment ought to be in proportion to crime.

37 Society has no right to punish with death, except where the existence of the criminal may endanger the peace of society, by the factions he may create in the state itself. In this view, the deaths of Charles I. and Lewis XVI. may be defended.

38 To inspire terror, punishment should certainly and immediately follow conviction.

PRIESTLEY.

39 Liberality in a prince is no virtue, when maintained at the subject's cost. ENCHIRIDION.

40 Remember that nothing is politically right, that is not morally so.

P. S. Such, my friend, are the political principles of the jacobins. If I should be asked, why I now publish them; my answer would be, 'the country is in a better state to judge of the consequences of an unequal representation than ever.' They know the abilities of the minister; for they feel their effects. The jacobin principle of governing by affection is destroyed. A happy people never rebel. But Arthur Young proposed to the Reeveite Associations to starve such tradesmen as were hostile to the war, and friendly to reform; and many of the gangs adopted the hellish design. Compare, I entreat you, the principles of the jacobins with those of their enemies. The jacobins say, ameliorate the condition of mankind, lessen your taxes, and avoid wars. The Duke of Brunswick proposed to level Paris with the dust, and with fire and sword to destroy its inhabitants: but Mr. Young, more fell than the tyger, out-heroding Herod himself, exalts Louis the XIVth. and other crowned ruffians into

peaceful men; for who but Arthur Young, who but an apostate, that had been admitted a member of the jacobin society, who had espoused the cause of Parliamentary Reform in England, and eloquently painted the horrid consequences of despotism in France, who, I say, but such a man, become a pensioned placeman, could have engendered the thought of 'conquering and driving out all the inhabitants of Paris, Dunkirk, Gravelines, and Calais; and if the Convention, in the mean time, attacked Germany, or the eastern line of Flanders, the country should be made a desert, at the expence of the common cause?*' But I forget myself; I must say no more. Mr. Y. reviews in Mr. Pitt's Review; and the British Critic will be no friend to a pamphlet that defends the principles of liberty and equality.

* Annals of Agriculture, No. 129.

F I N I S.